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Pavak



Jonaraja Institute of
Genocide & Atrocities Studies



Lest We Forget

The Untold Agonies...!!!



अपथ्याशीवबालःसामन्तसहितस्ततः। जनानाम जातिविध्वंसे सूहभट्टः कृतोद्यमः।

- Pandit Jonaraja, Father of Genocide Studies

Pandit Jonaraja, the author of second Rajtarangini that follows the Rajtarangini of Kalhan, was a Kashmiri Shaivite Bhatta Brahmin. His real name was Jyotsanakar, meaning the creator of moonlight. This poetic name was true to his being. He was an exceptional and sensitive poet, well versed in history, astrology, Ayurveda, Yoga and subtler aspects of all these disciplines. He was a renowned Sanskrit scholar. His year of birth as per the records available is estimated as 1389-90.

Like Kalhan he has written the history of Kashmir in poetry. That is not all there is about him. He has recorded the genocide of Kashmiri Pandits in detail and delineated its aspects like the present day genocide scholars.

Jati Vidhwans—this is the word Jonaraja has coined to describe genocide. He has defined genocide and his definition almost mirrors the definition given by Raphael Lemkin. He has even pointed out the special intent that motivates the perpetrator and given a very sensitive and vivid account of how an ideology radicalises a regime and effects a total change in its mode of operation that leads to genocide. He has made it clear that the mind of a perpetrator is at a very low level of maturity. That is the view held by present day genocide scholars also. He has defined genocide and his definition is almost equal to the definition given by Raphael Lemkin. His account of the first exodus of Kashmiri Pandits, if placed in correct context, is no different from the atrocities the community faced in 1990.

Roots of the field of genocide studies are found in Pandit Jonaraja. He in every sense is “**Father of Genocide Studies.**”



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Those we forgot- Where did they perish?



Cultural or ethnic biases can also contribute to the neglect of certain genocides. The global community may be more responsive to cases that involve familiar or well-known ethnic or religious groups, while atrocities against less-known or marginalized groups may go unnoticed.

Sunanda Vashisht
Editor-in-Chief, Pavak

Forgotten genocides refer to those instances of mass violence which are often characterized by systematic and deliberate extermination of a particular ethnic, religious, or social group, that have not received widespread attention or recognition compared to more well-known cases. The reasons why certain genocides may be forgotten or overlooked vary from lack of awareness to lack of documentation.

Some genocides occur in regions that are geographically remote or politically isolated, making it difficult for information to reach the global community. Media coverage and international attention play a significant role in shaping awareness. Genocides may be ignored or downplayed due to political considerations. Powerful nations or governments may choose to overlook or deny genocidal acts committed by their allies or themselves. Political interests and alliances can influence how the international community responds to such atrocities. In some cases, genocides may lack comprehensive documentation or evidence. Limited access to information, suppression of evidence, or destruction of records can hinder efforts to uncover and publicize the extent of the atrocities. Genocides may occur in the context of ongoing conflicts, making it challenging for humanitarian organizations, journalists, and researchers to access affected areas and document the atrocities. The immediate focus may be on resolving the conflict rather than investigating and publicizing the genocide.

Cultural or ethnic biases can also contribute to the neglect of certain genocides. The global community may be more responsive to cases that involve familiar or well-known ethnic or religious groups, while atrocities against less-known or marginalized groups may go unnoticed. The world often faces numerous crises and conflicts simultaneously. Genocides may be overshadowed by other pressing issues, leading to a lack of attention and action. Governments or individuals involved in genocidal acts may engage in denial or historical revisionism to escape accountability. Denial can further contribute to the obscurity of a genocide.

Several instances of genocide in the modern era have been overlooked or forgotten to some extent. One example is the Herero and Nama genocide, which occurred in German South West Africa (now Namibia) between 1904 and 1908. Here's an overview of this forgotten genocide:

Herero and Nama Genocide (1904-1908):

Location: German South West Africa (present-day Namibia).

Perpetrators: German colonial forces under the command of General Lothar von Trotha.

Targeted Groups: The Herero and Nama ethnic groups.

Events:

Land Disputes:

The German colonization of South West Africa led to conflicts with the indigenous Herero and Nama peoples over land and resources.

The German settlers pushed the indigenous populations into arid regions, disrupting their traditional ways of life.

Genocidal Actions:

In response to the Herero uprising against German colonial rule in 1904, General von Trotha issued an extermination order. The order explicitly called for the annihilation of the Herero people. The German forces engaged in brutal campaigns, driving the Herero and Nama into the desert, depriving them of water, and conducting mass killings.

Mass Killings and Forced Labor:

Tens of thousands of Herero and Nama people were killed through violence, starvation, and dehydration. Many were subjected to forced labor under harsh conditions. Those who survived faced displacement, forced labor, and systematic brutality.

Legacy of Trauma:

The surviving Herero and Nama populations experienced profound trauma, loss of land, and cultural disruption.

The German colonial authorities never formally acknowledged the genocide, and the affected communities struggled for recognition and reparations for decades.

Reasons for Being Forgotten:

Limited International Attention:

At the time, the Herero and Nama genocide received limited international attention, partly due to the remoteness of the region and the broader geopolitical context.

Post-WWI Shift of Focus:

After World War I, Germany lost its colonies, and the attention shifted to the atrocities of the two world wars, overshadowing the earlier colonial-era genocide.

Denial and Lack of Acknowledgment:

The German government did not officially acknowledge the genocide until 2015, and a formal apology came later. This denial and delayed acknowledgment contributed to the genocide being overlooked.

Reparations Struggles:

Efforts by the Herero and Nama communities to seek reparations and acknowledgment faced legal and political challenges, slowing down the process of recognition.

The Herero and Nama genocide is an example of a forgotten genocide that has started to receive more attention in recent years. Efforts are ongoing to address historical injustices, promote awareness, and seek justice for the affected communities. The case underscores the importance of remembering and acknowledging all instances of genocide to prevent their recurrence and promote healing.

Remembering forgotten genocides involves a combination of efforts from various sectors, including education, advocacy, media, and international institutions. The forgotten genocides must be included in educational curricula at both the national and international levels. It is important to develop educational programs, seminars, and workshops to inform students and the public about lesser-known genocides. Producing documentaries and films that highlight forgotten genocides and their impact on affected communities can go a long way. Creating memorials and museums dedicated to the memory of victims of forgotten genocides can be useful. Working with survivor communities to amplify their voices and advocate for acknowledgment and justice is one way of drawing attention to forgotten genocides. Engage in human rights campaigns to raise awareness about ongoing atrocities and genocidal acts. Encourage governments and international organizations to officially recognize forgotten genocides through statements and resolutions can be very helpful.

Remembering forgotten genocides requires a sustained and collective effort from individuals, communities, governments, and international organizations. By combining these strategies, it is possible to raise awareness, honor the memory of victims, and work towards preventing future atrocities.

In this edition of Pavak we bring you forgotten genocides for we must never forget those who perished because they had no choice.

Perils of Forgetting Genocides



Genocides are not only about the loss of lives but the deliberate erasure of cultures and identities.

Tito Ganju
Chairman, JIGAS

The annals of human history present a stark and chilling tableau—a testament to the indelible stain left by the unspeakable horrors of genocide. It is a narrative etched with the blood of countless lives, a narrative that forces us to confront the darkest corners of human nature. From the haunting specter of the Hindu Holocaust of Hindus of sub continent since the advent of invasions, with its ominous echoes of mass extermination and systematic dehumanization, to contemporary Kashmiri Pandit Genocide where animosities metamorphosed into a violent whirlwind of brutality, these events serve as harrowing reminders of the capacity for cruelty within our species.

Within the intricate fabric of historical discourse, Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902) unfolds a nuanced perspective through his seminal work. The canvas he paints elucidates a historical oscillation in the Hindu populace. Farishta, the venerable Muslim historian, etches a zenith at 60 crores (600 million), a zenith contrasted starkly by a contemporary nadir of 20 crores (200 million), chronicled in Vivekananda's Complete Works (Vol. 5, p. 233).

Arun Shourie (1941-), a luminary in journalistic realms and a laureate of the Magsaysay award, echoes Vivekananda's reflections in a thoughtful tableau crafted on January 31, 1993. The resonance of Vivekananda's epistolary eloquence to Miss Mary Hale on October 30, 1899, etches its presence within the annals of his Complete Works (Vol. 8, Epistles- Fourth Series CXLV).

In this historical narrative, Dr. K. S. Lal (1920-2002), an erudite historian, pens a profound treatise titled "Growth of Muslim Population in India." Within its pages, a calculation emerges, revealing an 80 million diminution in the Hindu populace from AD 1000 to AD 1525. This numerical cadence beckons contemplation, inviting readers to traverse the corridors of metaphysical currents shaping the demographic flux of bygone epochs.

In a more contemporary context, the Kashmiri Pandit genocide serves as a poignant reminder of the fragility of social harmony. Rooted in historical ethnic tensions, this genocide saw neighbor turn against neighbor, tearing apart the fabric of a nation. The State, the international community, mired in inertia, failed to stem the tide of bloodshed, highlighting the perilous consequences of national and global indifference in the face of atrocities.

However, as we travel through the corridors of time, there emerges a dangerous tendency—a perilous inclination

for societies to forget or, in some instances, deliberately downplay the profound significance of these heinous acts. This collective amnesia is not a benign forgetfulness, but a deliberate turning away from the harsh truths of our past. It is a conscious act of disengagement from the lessons embedded in the narratives of suffering, a willful closing of the eyes to the uncomfortable realities that history unveils.

The consequences of this collective forgetting are profound and far-reaching, rippling through the fabric of global society. The echoes of genocides, muted by the passage of time, threaten to unravel the threads that bind us as a shared humanity. As the relentless march of time propels us forward, we risk losing touch with the profound lessons that history strives to impart. The perils of this amnesia resonate like a discordant note, threatening the very foundations of our shared humanity.

At the heart of this perilous forgetting lies the potential for history to be distorted. The immediacy of the suffering begins to wane, and the sharp edges of historical truths become dulled. In some cases, societies may succumb to a selective amnesia that downplays the gravity of these acts, paving the way for revisionist narratives that distort the narrative of genocide. This distortion not only dishonors the memory of the victims but also leaves societies vulnerable to a repetition of history, as the warning signs and lessons of the past fade into obscurity.

The danger extends beyond mere forgetfulness; it seeps into the very fabric of justice and accountability. Remembering genocides is not only an act of preserving historical truths but also a prerequisite for holding perpetrators accountable. When societies forget or deny the gravity of past crimes, justice becomes elusive. Perpetrators may escape accountability, leaving wounds unhealed and justice unrealized. In a world that aspires to uphold human rights, the collective forgetting of genocides undermines the pillars of justice and fairness.

Cultural memory, too, hangs in the balance. Genocides are not only about the loss of lives but the deliberate erasure of cultures and identities. Forgetting these atrocities risks further marginalizing affected communities, relegating their painful experiences to the peripheries of history. By turning away from these chapters, we risk depriving future generations of the richness and diversity inherent in the human experience. Remembering genocides becomes an act of cultural preservation, a commitment to honoring the resilience of

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communities that have faced the specter of annihilation.

These events are not isolated occurrences but threads intricately woven into a broader historical fabric, bearing witness to the fragile nature of human coexistence.

Let's take a brief look at each factor or peril, analyzing their implications and significance in a concise manner.

The Echoes of History:

The Hindu Holocaust, etched into the collective memory of humanity, remains a stark testament to the depths of brutality that humans can inflict upon one another. Many million lives snuffed out in the name of twisted ideologies cast a long, harrowing shadow on the conscience of the world. The Kashmiri pandit genocide, a more contemporary tragedy, unfolded against the backdrop of national and global indifference, as ethnic tensions erupted into a violent maelstrom leading to mass exodus, leaving a scar on the history of human coexistence. These events, with their stark contrasts in time and space, share a common thread—a stark reminder of the fragility inherent in the human condition.

The Danger of Collective Amnesia:

As the relentless march of time propels us forward, there emerges a disquieting propensity for societies to succumb to collective amnesia concerning genocides. The inexorable passage of time can blur the sharp edges of historical atrocities, allowing the immediacy of the suffering to fade from societal consciousness. This amnesia is not a mere forgetfulness; it is a corrosive force that threatens to erode the lessons embedded in the painful narratives of genocide. The danger is twofold—not only in the act of forgetting itself but also in the subsequent distortion of historical truths. Societies may downplay the gravity of these heinous acts, providing fertile ground for revisionist narratives to take root and reshape the understanding of past atrocities.

The Far-Reaching Consequences:

The perils of forgetting genocides extend beyond a simple lapse in memory; at its core, this forgetfulness constitutes a betrayal of the victims and a dismissal of their profound suffering. It represents a

disregard for the critical lessons that history endeavors to impart to present and future generations. One of the gravest consequences of this collective amnesia is the potential repetition of history. Without the collective memory of past atrocities, societies stand vulnerable to the insidious resurgence of discrimination, hatred, and violence. Warning signs that precede genocide may go unnoticed, and the international community may once again fail to intervene in the face of impending catastrophe, perpetuating a cycle of suffering and indifference.

Furthermore, the act of forgetting genocides poses a significant impediment to the pursuit of justice. Acknowledgment of past atrocities is not only a moral imperative but a practical necessity for holding perpetrators accountable. When societies forget or deny the gravity of these crimes, the pursuit of justice becomes elusive. Perpetrators may escape accountability, leaving the wounds of survivors gaping and unhealed. In a world that aspires to uphold human rights and principles of justice, this collective forgetting undermines the very foundations upon which these ideals rest, casting doubt on the feasibility of achieving a just and fair global society.

Cultural Memory and Identity:

Genocides, beyond the staggering loss of lives, are insidious in their erasure of cultures and identities. Forgetting these atrocities poses a severe risk of further marginalizing affected communities. By relegating these painful episodes to the recesses of history, we risk depriving future generations of the richness and diversity inherent in the human experience. Remembering genocides becomes an act of cultural preservation—a solemn commitment to honoring the resilience of communities that have faced the specter of annihilation.

The echoes of genocide persist as a solemn reminder of the need to confront the perils of collective amnesia. The Hindu Holocaust and the Kashmiri Pandit genocide, separated by time are bound by the common thread of human suffering. As societies grapple with the complexities of the present and chart a course into an uncertain future, they must reckon with the weight of their history. Remembering genocides is not merely an act of historical reflection; it is a crucial step toward building a world that acknowledges the painful lessons of the past and endeavors to create a future where the echoes of genocide are replaced by the harmonious chords of compassion, justice, and shared humanity.

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Genocides in the Indian Subcontinent: A Dharmic Perspective



Social, political or educational Dharmic institutions that aim at unveiling and understanding the genocidal truths of history are absent in the Indian subcontinent.

Dr. Dileep Kumar Kaul
Director, JIGAS

(With special reference to 20th century genocides in India)

Manu Smriti, an ancient text of Hindu Law gives us a socially significant definition of Dharma (righteousness). Ten characteristics of Dharma are given in this text:

dhṛti: kṣamā damo'sm śaucamin: |
dhīrvidyā satdaśakam dharmalakṣaṇam ||

These ten characteristics are dhṛti (patience), kṣamā (Forgiveness), dam (avoiding non-righteousness and following righteous path of dharma), asteya (non-stealing), śauca (outer and inner purity), in(keeping all senses on path of dharma), dhī (adding to intellect through good deeds), vidyā (knowledge of external and core reality of things), sat(following the path of truth), akrodh (giving up anger and being at peace).

If we take the element of vidyā, It is the awareness of the core and the visible existence of things and the narrative that emanates from this awareness. This is the essence of things, individually and collectively. This takes us to the awareness of satya (Truth). This is the basis of real intellect that is dhī which does not give rise to anger but keeps you at peace with yourself (akrodh) and that propels you towards working with patience (dhṛti) to move forward in life. All this naturally stimulates you towards control over your senses (indriyanigraha) that renders you so pure (śaucam) that you respect the universal human values. You have no feeling of otherness towards anybody. This is Dharmic way of life and anything contrary to this is Adharma or non-righteousness. It has been already pointed out that in a genocidal environment truth is the casualty. So, when truth is slaughtered, it shows that a non-dharmic ideology is beginning to get established.

The high degree of these characteristics of Dharma in an individual makes him dharmic and the lowest degree of these characteristics make him non-dharmic. This is true of individuals as well as communities. The highest level of these characteristics in a community creates a dharmic community and the lowest level gives rise to a non-dharmic community. Even if we do not label such communities as dharmic or non-dharmic, the highest level of these characteristics certainly identifies a rescuer community that believes in universal human values and the lowest degree of these characteristics identify a perpetrator community that does not believe in co-existence of the communities.

The above mentioned ten characteristics of Dharma give rise to a holistic theory of dharma that makes our lives to be on the side of truth. This is the Dharma that makes a profound suggestion that dharmic institutions are must to counter the common crimes and the crime of crimes that

is genocide. Broader systems of political and social power do not address a genocidal event as genocide. Their interpretations are always based on the interests and biases that govern them at the moment. They hide the truth or present partial truths to the public. When this happen all characteristics of Dharma are affected. People become less patient, less analytical, they hardly exercise their intellect. A reactive society is formed. The systems of power deliberately aim at creating reactive societies through concealing historical truths because such truths can be politically discomforting. So, truth becomes the casualty when we look at the genocides committed in the Indian subcontinent.

Social, political or educational Dharmic institutions that aim at unveiling and understanding the genocidal truths of history are absent in the Indian subcontinent. Many truth and reconciliation commissions have been established across the world in many countries to facilitate understanding of atrocities and genocides. Out of these Commission for Historical Clarification (La Comisión para el Esclarecimiento Histórico) established in Guatemala in 1994 needs special mention. It was created to investigate the atrocities committed during the period of 1962 to 1990. These atrocities led to the genocide of Mayan people whose civilisation dated back to 2600 BCE. This commission aimed at clarifying the past with "objectivity, equity and impartiality. Unveiling of truth, the genocidal acts committed by the rulers has been the aim of this commission.

In the Indian subcontinent, contrary has been the case. No objectivity, equity and impartiality are seen anywhere when genocidal events are taken into consideration. There has been a tendency to blur the genocidal atrocities committed by some communities, especially in India. If we take Moplah Genocide, it has been wrapped in various covers. Some call it Moplah rebellion. Rebellion against whom? If the rebellion was against Britishers why were the Hindus targeted in large numbers? Why were their women raped? Some call it Moplah riots which it can never be. C. Gopalan Nair, whose book "The Moplah Rebellion, 1921" is widely quoted and read, has paid tributes to British Captain P. McEnroy in the beginning of the book. Capt. McEnroy with a small force of just 125 men had resisted a group of about 4000 Moplah Muslims on 26th August 1921, at Pookkottur and inflicted 400 casualties on them. C. Gopalan Nair expresses his gratitude to the captain for he had "saved the Ernad Hindus from wholesale conversion to Moslem faith." That explains the nature of what happened in Moplah. The perpetrator was attacking the victim because he did not want his religious identity to exist. The victim was unable to resist and depended on the Army to get saved from the

You have no feeling of otherness towards anybody. This is Dharmic way of life and anything contrary to this is Adharma or non-righteousness. It has been already pointed out that in a genocidal environment truth is the casualty. So, when truth is slaughtered, it shows that a non-dharmic ideology is beginning to get established.

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genocide.

The stories of physical annihilation of the victims matched the brutality of Rwanda. Mr. Nair unequivocally says that there was hardly any Hindu in the rebel area who had not suffered. So the figure of 10,000 Hindus killed does not seem to be an exaggeration, though the government as per the habit puts the number to just 2,500. The women of the area submitted a memorandum to the H.E. The Countess of Reading saying that she has not been appraised of: "The many wells and tanks filled up with the mutilated, but often only half dead bodies of our nearest and dearest ones who refused to abandon the faith of our fathers; of pregnant women cut to pieces and left on the roadside and in the jungles, with the unknown babe protruding from the mangled corpse; of the innocent and helpless children torn from our arms and done to death before our eyes and of our husbands and fathers tortured, flayed and burnt alive; of our helpless sisters forcibly carried away from the midst of kith and kin and subjected to every shame and outrage..." Compare this with the gory account of genocidal killings given by a Rwandan national Romeo Dallaire, "We were passing over bridges in swamps that had been lifted by the force of bodies piling up on the struts. We had inched our way through villages of dead humans. We had created paths amongst the dead and half-dead with our hands. And we had thrown up even when there was nothing in our stomachs."

This explains the genocidal nature of Moplah killings. The irony is that Indian Marxists have called it a peasants' revolution.

The reference to Rwanda takes us to the beginning of the Rwandan Genocide. On April 6, 1994, President Juvenal Habyarimana was killed when his plane was shot down. The genocide started immediately. He was returning from peace talks with Rwandan Patriotic Front, a Tutsi dominated group. The blame of the disaster was slapped on the Tutsi community and within 100 days about ten lakh Tutsis were killed. Such genocidal assaults after the killing of a prominent person, have occurred in free India also. The first such genocidal assault occurred after the murder of Mahatma Gandhi. The killer of Mahatma Gandhi, Nathuram Godse was a Chitpawan Brahmin of Maharashtra. After he killed the Mahatma, genocidal assaults were launched on Chitpawan Brahmins, all over Maharashtra. The premise was no different from the one that emerged from the killing of the Rwandan President in 1994. Tutsis (some) may have killed the President so all Tutsis must be Punished. In Maharashtra, after the killing of the Mahatma in 1948, the premise was—A Chitpawan Brahmin has killed Gandhi, our leader, so all Chitpawan Brahmins should be eliminated. That showed the genocidal intent. About 6000 Chitpawan Brahmins are said to be killed in these assaults.

No distorting narratives were employed to hide the genocidal dimensions of the violence. Maurice Patterson, who has done extensive research on Chitpawan Brahmins has reported that even decades after the incident she was not given access to relevant police files. This shows the connivance of the state in hiding the genocide.

The facts were hidden and the tendency to use genocide as a tool for taking revenge if political power is threatened was carried forward in the history. Those who challenge the power deserve death along with their whole community. This tendency was expressed in the same manner in 1984, under similar circumstances when another leader of the same political party was assassinated by the members of the Sikh community. The premise was the same as in case of Mahatma Gandhi. Two Sikhs killed Indira Gandhi, so all Sikhs deserve annihilation. Sajjan Kumar had said in Punjabi language, "Sardar Sala koi na bachna Chahida. (None of the bloody Sardars should escape)." A lady Jagdish Kaur had heard Sajjan Kumar saying these words. She had testified before an enquiry commission. This utterance was punishable under article 3(c) of the Genocide Convention. As there is no genocide law in India the Sikh killings of 1984 are not recognised as genocidal. But they indeed are genocidal.

Genocide in Rwanda (1994), genocide of Chitpawan Brahmins (1948) in Maharashtra and genocide of Sikhs (1984) are similar in their origins.

The stories of physical annihilation of the victims matched the brutality of Rwanda. Mr. Nair unequivocally says that there was hardly any Hindu in the rebel area who had not suffered. So the figure of 10,000 Hindus killed does not seem to be an exaggeration, though the government as per the habit puts the number to just 2,500. The women of the area submitted a memorandum to the H.E. The Countess of Reading saying that she has not been appraised of: "The many wells and tanks filled up with the mutilated, but often only half dead bodies of our nearest and dearest ones who refused to abandon the faith of our fathers; of pregnant women cut to pieces and left on the roadside and in the jungles, with the unknown babe protruding from the mangled corpse; ..

These three genocidal events begin with the killing of a leader and the murderer, imagined or real, is member of a particular community. So, it is decided that the whole community deserves extermination. This holds similarity with another genocidal event in the history of the world. It occurred on 27 May, 1942 in Czech village of Lidice. Czech resistance fighters had killed a top Nazi leader Reinhard Heydrich. Many waves of reprisals by Nazi troops followed. Lidice massacre was one of such waves. Nazis decided that all men from the village who were more than 15 years of age should be killed. 173 men from the village were killed on 10 June 1942. 11 men were not in the village. They were arrested later on and executed. Women were sent to concentration camps. The final count was 190 men, 60 women and 88 children killed. A similar kind of model of reprisal was employed in the above-mentioned genocides perpetrated in the Indian subcontinent. This similarity in the genocidal events in different regions of our world at different points of time holds in it a warning for us that if some atrocious event in our present suggests that the event in its essence, stands equal to some barbaric events occurring before or after that atrocious event, it is clear that we along with our history have got entangled in a cobweb of apathy and barbarity which creates a culture in which dehumanizing elements get carried forward in history from one point of time to the other. This cannot ensure a future that can be free of barbarity and genocidal behaviours.

Who does not know that social and political power determines how a historical event is to be explained and what is to be included in and excluded from the explanation of that event. This whole process shapes the people's view of history and manipulates their belief in historical facts. Those who wielded power in Kashmir effectively backgrounded and concealed the genocidal phases of the history of Kashmir. The perpetration of genocide is not a straight line affair. The genocidal environment is created through a slow and steady process of elimination of the victim community from social, political, economic, cultural and every kind of life as was done to Jews in Germany. It is after these processes of elimination that the physical elimination of Jews was done. Kashmiri Pandits were treated in the same way. 1990 genocide was the culmination of Seven waves of genocide that were recorded by poets and writers of those times of atrocities. The awareness of six waves of genocide before 1990 imparts a different meaning to the 1990 episode. It makes clear that

genocide in Kashmir is not a phenomenon that just jumped into the social theatre of Kashmiri to perform a spectacle. But the state has confined the whole thing to just 1990. On the intellectual level it was done through laying emphasis on Kalhan and the history of Kashmir written by him in his “Rajtarangini.” This was done because Kalhana’s Rajtarangini contained nothing embarrassing for the Indian state. A detailed account of Genocide of Kashmiri Pandits was recorded by Pandit Jonaraja about six hundred years back. Pandit Jonaraja was deliberately brushed under the carpet by the power centres of India because that devastates the “unity in diversity” narrative that has been extended to the whole continuity of the history of atrocities on the victim communities to give an impression that the perpetrator communities have been tolerant of “others” and progressive in their actions.

One of the tools of hiding the genocide in Kashmiri was the creation of Art. 370. It was a very effective tool to hide the genocidal history of Kashmir. It was used to create an impression that the Muslim community in Kashmir can live in harmony with the Hindu minority and this can happen in India, a Hindu dominated country. This sub-nation had its own constitution and a flag, a subnational flag. It was under this flag and the subnational constitution that the genocide of Kashmiri Pandits was completed. Kashmir, that once was 100% Hindu became almost 100% Muslim. Another narrative that was floated was the narrative of “Kashmiriyat” the place oriented concept that aims at establishing a narrative that Kashmir is a place where Muslims live in harmony with Hindu minorities. It was under the shadow of “Kashmiriyat” that genocide of Kashmiri Pandits was brought to its culmination. The six centuries of genocide of Kashmiri Pandits was hidden under the constitutional narrative of Art. 370 and the socio-cultural narrative of “Kashmiriyat.” This led to the constant impunity and empowerment of the perpetrator in Kashmir.

The genocide of Kashmiri Pandits has important lessons for us. If genocidal processes are spread over centuries and extend into the present, are kept totally unaddressed and above everything are denied by all power centres the victim feels helpless. Helplessness is not patience as given in the 10 point theory of Dharma. Helplessness makes the victim reactive and prone to commit counter genocide. Such has been the case with the conflict between Palestinians and Jews. Both communities have killed each other since times immemorial and there seems to be no chance of reconciliation. A competitive victimhood is created in which there is no place for mutual empathy. Such a retaliation is not possible in case of Kashmiri Pandits because their numbers are very small and spread all over the world. But still, a squeeze is still there on the second characteristic that is *kṣamā* (Forgiveness). Kashmiri Pandits wherever they are, are not ready to forgive and that state of non-forgiveness is not going to do any harm to the perpetrators who, in absence of genocide law are roaming around freely. The need of genocide law is a big truth, the ninth point of the ten-point theory of Dharma. Genocide law will be a protection for every community and establish a really Dharmic society. Another genocide in the Indian subcontinent that is being kept hidden by the world powers is the genocide in Bangladesh perpetrated by Pakistani Army. The terror of this genocide could be estimated by the fact that from 5 lakh to 30 lakh people were killed in this genocide. Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had termed the attack “genocide” as early as March 1971. US government was not responding at all because the Pakistan, the perpetrator was its ally. India was siding with USSR. It was a cold war scenario. In such a polarised world we have the sacred memory of Archer Kent Blood, the US consul general in Dhaka with us. He stood against the US policy of being apathetic to genocide of Bangladeshi people. Mr. Blood sent cables to US government terming the killings in Bangladesh as selective genocide. Like a true Dharmic, he could not keep his eyes closed to truth. His cables angered President Nixon and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. He was called back and was never give any posting as an ambassador anywhere. He worked at a desk in state department until he retired. In an interview given to a Washington Post in 1982 he said, “I paid a price

for my dissent. But I had no choice. The line between right and wrong was just too clear cut.” It is clear that what he did was purely out of a situation of non-anger (Akrodh). Sense of truth leads us towards non anger. The sense of truth he had, gave him the consciousness of the clear-cut line between right and wrong. He was at the highest level of the continuum of the 10 point theory of Dharma. That made him a real Dharmic.

The 10 point Dharmic perspective acts as a tool to compare and critically examine the events of genocide. The question that is left unanswered is that what is in this 10 point Dharmic perspective for the victim who has lost everything, his nears and dears, home and everything. When truth is under assault, there is no other way but to follow the path of Satya (Truth). When the truth of his situation, his genocide is denied, when narratives are floated that it is actually the victim who is responsible for his situation, the victim has to articulate what happened to him and tell the truth, the truth about the genocide he has be subjected to. This needs patience the first point of the 10 point theory of Dharma. When the victim wants to tell the truth, he will automatically exercise patience to compose and articulate the aspects of his truth. Whatever attempts are made in social and political circles to distort the genocidal history the victim has to make it clear first to himself and then to the society that genocide is not a fact, but a barbaric phenomenon, the trauma of which passes from one generation to the other and disorients many periods of future history of the victim community. Telling the truth, following the path of satya keeps alive the Dharmic system in which humans can at least hope to have a future. Otherwise genocides will continue to happen and new genocides will keep hiding the old ones. The words of great Kashmiri historiographer and poet Kalhan, the author of first Rajtarangini give a beautiful expression to this fact:

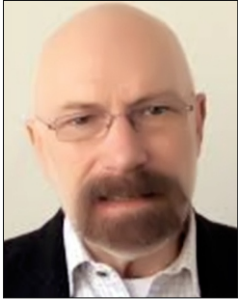
himenaiṃ himaṃ śamyed duṣkṛtenaiṃ duṣkṛtama. (401/5)

he says that as new snow dissolves away the old snow, so too a new sin dissolves away the old one that has been committed before it.

Similarly new genocides will keep dissolving away the old genocides, hide them, so that they remain away from our memory.

One of the tools of hiding the genocide in Kashmiri was the creation of Art. 370. It was a very effective tool to hide the genocidal history of Kashmir. It was used to create an impression that the Muslim community in Kashmir can live in harmony with the Hindu minority and this can happen in India, a Hindu dominated country. This sub-nation had its own constitution and a flag, a subnational flag. It was under this flag and the subnational constitution that the genocide of Kashmiri Pandits was completed. Kashmir, that once was 100% Hindu became almost 100% Muslim. Another narrative that was floated was the narrative of “Kashmiriyat” the place oriented concept that aims at establishing a narrative that Kashmir is a place where Muslims live in harmony with Hindu minorities. It was under the shadow of “Kashmiriyat” that genocide of Kashmiri Pandits was brought to its culmination. The six centuries of genocide of Kashmiri Pandits was hidden under the constitutional narrative of Art. 370 and the socio-cultural narrative of “Kashmiriyat.” This led to the constant impunity and empowerment of the perpetrator in Kashmir.

Nazis' Roma Victims



It is notoriously difficult to estimate how many Roma were murdered during the Holocaust, and numbers vary wildly. The evidence available today points to a total number of around 250,000 people.

Prof. Rainer Schulze

The Nazi persecution of the Roma has long been a 'forgotten', or rather overlooked and unacknowledged, part of the Third Reich's genocidal policy, and to some extent it remains so today. Few people are aware that the Roma were systematically marginalised and persecuted, deported to concentration camps, abused in 'medical' experiments, and shot or mass murdered by other means because they were regarded as 'racially inferior'.

Roma had been the subject of discrimination, persecution and enslavement for centuries, stigmatised as habitual criminals, vagrants, spies, asocial and workshy. In contrast to Jews, Roma did not experience full emancipation in the 19th and early 20th centuries through the abolition of all discriminatory laws and recognition as equals to other citizens. Instead, anti-Roma legislation remained in force across Europe, or was even newly introduced. In many places, activities of the Roma community were monitored by the police under the pretext of fighting crime, and attempts continued to 'civilise' them by forcing them to give up their travelling life.

When the Nazis came to power in Germany, they made use of the existing institutionalised racism and the system of state control and surveillance, switching the rhetoric from fighting crime to targeting a whole ethnic community on the explicit basis of race.

After Hitler's appointment to Chancellor of Germany in January 1933, Roma were gradually deprived of more and more of their civil rights. They were excluded from professional and trade organisations and, under the Law for the Prevention of Offspring with Hereditary Defects of 14 July 1933, Roma women were sterilised against their will.

In the run-up to the 1936 Olympics in Berlin, so-called 'homeless' Roma were rounded up and forcibly taken to internment camps on the outskirts of towns. One of the most infamous of these Roma camps was Marzahn Rastplatz, set up in eastern Berlin between a cemetery and a sewage dump. In the same year, the German Department of Health set up the Racial Hygiene and Demographic Biology Research Unit, which was tasked with studying the 'Gypsy question' and concluded that most Roma were a 'danger to Aryan racial purity'.

On 8 December 1938, Reichsführer SS Heinrich Himmler issued his decree on 'Combating the Gypsy Plague' in which he propagated addressing the 'resolution of the Gypsy question' on the basis 'of its essentially racial

nature'.

The outbreak of war brought further restrictions for the Roma, and on 16 December 1942, Himmler ordered the deportation of all 'Gypsy, half-breeds, Rom Gypsies and members of Gypsy tribes of Balkan origin with non-German blood' to a concentration camp. An order of the SS Reich Security Main Office of 20 January 1943 specified that they were to be deported 'to the concentration camp (Gypsy camp) Auschwitz'. Roma were persecuted all across Nazi-occupied Europe and by states allied with Nazi Germany, and the Nazi government was happy to leave it up to the various regimes to deal with 'their' Roma populations.

It is notoriously difficult to estimate how many Roma were murdered during the Holocaust, and numbers vary wildly. The evidence available today points to a total number of around 250,000 people. However, the exact figure will never be known; compared to Jewish victims of the Holocaust, there is a higher proportion of Roma who were victims of unrecorded killings, especially in the Balkans and the former Soviet Union.

After the defeat of Nazi Germany and her allies, the surviving Roma who returned from the camps and the labour brigades, or from places of hiding, were treated everywhere as they had always been treated: they were 'the Gypsies'. Many Roma found their property looted or taken away. There was no compensation for the persecution suffered. Instead, discriminatory legislation remained in force, and one 1950s court ruling in Germany called the 'Gypsies' unashamedly 'a country plague in western civilised nations'. The persecution was widely regarded as something the Roma had brought upon themselves. Outside the affected families, there was little to no empathy with the victims or the survivors.

In 1956, Germany's highest court of civil and criminal jurisdiction ruled that persecution of the Roma on racial grounds began only with the implementation of Himmler's so-called Auschwitz order of 16 December 1942. Measures taken against the Roma before this order were judged a lawful approach to combatting crime and 'antisocial' behaviour, and upholding national security. It took almost 60 years, until in May 2015 the court eventually distanced itself from its 1956 ruling.

Requests for compensation were only considered for deportations that occurred after 1942 and were clearly evidenced. In 1963 it was backdated to 9 December 1938, the date of Himmler's decree on 'Combating the Gypsy

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The civil rights movements in the 1970s played an important role in raising awareness of Roma victimhood during the Nazi period. On 27 October 1979, the Association of German Sinti, the international Roma umbrella organisation Romani-Union and the human rights organisation Society for Threatened Peoples organised an international ceremony of remembrance at the Gedenkstätte (memorial) Bergen-Belsen. They demanded a public recognition of the Nazi genocide of the Roma, compensation for their suffering, and attention paid to their continuing marginalisation and discrimination in post-war Europe. An inscription was placed onto Bergen-Belsen's wall of remembrance that explicitly commemorates the Sinti and Roma victims.

Inscription in commemoration of the murdered Sinti and Roma on the wall of remembrance at the Gedenkstätte Bergen-Belsen. It reads: In mourning and profound reverence, we, Sinti (Zigeuner), remember the victims of our people. Through their violent deaths, they serve as an exhortation to the living to resist the injustices perpetrated by people on other people.

Plague'. However, this continued to exclude many forms of persecutions, including the deportation to the special 'Gypsy camps', the conscription to forced labour, or the compulsory sterilisations that had happened since 1934.

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In 1982, the Central Council of German Sinti and Roma (Zentralrat Deutscher Sinti und Roma) was set up, chaired by businessman Romani Rose, a German Sinto born in 1946. Romani's father survived the Nazi period in hiding, but 13 members of Romani's family, including his grandparents, perished. In a meeting with a delegation of the Zentralrat on 17 March 1982, the then West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt acknowledged for the first time publicly that the Roma were persecuted by the Nazis for racial reasons. It was a recognition repeated by Schmidt's successor Helmut Kohl in the German parliament in 1985.

At the opening of the Documentation and Cultural Centre of German Sinti and Roma in Heidelberg on 16 March 1997, German President

Roman Herzog set out explicitly: 'The genocide of the Sinti and Roma was carried out from the same motive of racial mania, with the same premeditation, with the same wish for the systematic and total extermination as the genocide of the Jews.'

Why did it take so long for the persecution of the Roma to be officially recognised? The obvious causes are the continued discrimination of the Roma all across Europe, the lack of recognised and effective national and international Roma pressure groups, and the lack of a Roma leadership both proud to be Roma and able to interact as equals with the representatives of the wider societies.

Roma scholar and activist Ian Hancock links the reluctance of many Roma to remember and commemorate their victimhood during the Nazi period to their socioeconomic status in today's societies, arguing remembrance is a luxury the Roma cannot afford.

Furthermore, the fact that, in contrast to the Jews, deportation and extermination of the Roma were selective and not comprehensive impacted on the development of a collective historical memory. Roma activist Nico Fortuna points out: 'The Jews were shocked [about the deportation] and can remember the year, date and time it happened. The Roma shrugged it off. They said, 'Of course I was deported. I'm Roma; these things happen to a Roma'.'

On 24 October 2012, after long delays, German Chancellor Angela Merkel inaugurated Berlin's Memorial to the Sinti and Roma Murdered under the National Socialist Regime. However, while this memorial is a long overdue recognition of the Nazi genocide of Europe's Roma and Sinti, the question has to remain open, for now, whether in the longer term it will achieve more than just become part of Germany's – and possibly Europe's – institutionalised memory culture. Will commemoration of Roma victimhood during the Nazi period be able to impact on the attitudes that the wider societies in Europe hold towards the Roma and Sinti today.

(Rainer Schulze is Professor of Modern European History at the University of Essex and the programmer of the University of Essex's annual Holocaust Memorial Week.)

Modern Era Genocides Often Forgotten by History

(Compiled by : The Genocide Education Project)

The Genocide in Darfur

Violence and destruction are raging in the Darfur region of western Sudan. Since February 2003, government-sponsored militias known as the Janjaweed have conducted a calculated campaign of slaughter, rape, starvation and displacement in Darfur.

It is estimated that 400,000 people have died due to violence, starvation and disease. More than 2.5 million people have been displaced from their homes and over 200,000 have fled across the border to Chad. Many now live in camps lacking adequate food, shelter, sanitation, and health care.

The United States Congress and President George W. Bush recognized the situation in Darfur as “genocide.” Darfur, “near Hell on Earth,” has been declared the worst humanitarian crisis in the world today.

The Rwandan Genocide

Beginning on April 6, 1994, groups of ethnic Hutu, armed mostly with machetes, began a campaign of terror and bloodshed which embroiled the Central African country of Rwanda. For about 100 days, the Hutu militias, known in Rwanda as Interhamwe, followed what evidence suggests was a clear and premeditated attempt to exterminate the country's ethnic Tutsi population. The Rwandan state radio, controlled by Hutu extremists, further encouraged the killings by broadcasting non-stop hate propaganda and even pinpointed the locations of Tutsis in hiding. The killings only ended after armed Tutsi rebels, invading from neighboring countries, managed to defeat the Hutus and halt the genocide in July 1994. By then, over one-tenth of the population, an estimated 800,000 persons, had been killed. The country's industrial infrastructure had been destroyed and much of its population had been dislocated.

Genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina

In the republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, conflict between the three main ethnic groups – the Serbs, Croats, and Muslims – resulted in genocide committed by the Serbs against Bosnian Muslims. In the late 1980's a Serbian named Slobodan Milosevic came to power. In 1992 acts of “ethnic cleansing” started in Bosnia, a mostly Muslim country where the Serb minority made up only 32% of the population. Milosevic responded to Bosnia's declaration of independence by attacking Sarajevo, where Serb snipers shot down civilians. The Bosnian Muslims were outgunned and the Serbs continued to gain ground. They systematically rounded up local Muslims and committed acts of mass murder, deported men and boys to concentration camps, and forced repopulation of entire towns. Serbs also terrorized Muslim families by using rape as a weapon against women and girls. Over 200,000 Muslim civilians were systematically murdered and 2,000,000 became refugees at the hands of the Serbs.

The Killing Fields: The Cambodian Genocide

From 1975-1979, Pol Pot led the Khmer Rouge political party in a reign of violence, fear, and brutality over Cambodia. An attempt to form a Communist peasant farming society resulted in the deaths of 25% of the population from starvation, overwork, and executions. By 1975, the U.S. had withdrawn its troops from Vietnam, and Cambodia lost its American military support. Taking advantage of this opportunity, Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge seized control of Cambodia. Inspired by Mao's Cultural Revolution in Communist China, Pol Pot attempted to “purify” Cambodia of western culture, city life, and religion. Different ethnic groups and all those considered to be of the “old society”, intellectuals, former government officials, and Buddhist monks were murdered. “What is rotten must be removed” was a slogan proclaimed throughout the Khmer Rouge era.

Mao Tse-tung's Cultural Revolution

October 1, 1949 marked Mao Tse-tung's proclamation of the People's Republic of China. The Chinese Communist Party launched numerous movements to systematically destroy the traditional Chinese social and political system. One of Mao's major goals was the total collectivization of the peasants. In 1958, he launched the “Great Leap Forward” campaign. This act was aimed at accomplishing economic and technical development of the country at a faster pace and with greater results. Instead, the “Great Leap Forward” destroyed the agricultural system, causing a terrible famine in which 27 million people starved to death.

The Holocaust

It began with a simple boycott of Jewish shops and ended in the gas chambers of Auschwitz as Hitler and his Nazi followers attempted to exterminate the entire Jewish population of Europe. The Holocaust took the lives of close to six million Jews during the World War II era. Anti-semitism was the central component of Nazi ideology. While the Nazis also murdered many millions of Poles, Russians, Roma, Sinti, Serbs, Czechs, homosexuals, and political opponents, only the Jews were slated for total annihilation. The “final solution” was partially successful through the process of genocide. The Nazi Party who first targeted the Jews, then isolated them into ghettos, then deported their victims to concentration camps where most perished. Others became Nazi victims not because of who they were but because of what they did – Jehovah's Witnesses, the dissenting clergy, Communists, Socialists, and other political enemies.

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The Rape of Nanking

In December of 1937, the Japanese Imperial Army marched into China's capital city of Nanking and proceeded to murder 300,000 out of the 600,000 civilians and soldiers in the city. After just four days of fighting, Japanese troops smashed into the city with orders issued to "kill all captives." The terrible violence – citywide burnings, stabbings, drownings, rapes, and thefts – did not cease for about six weeks. It is for the crimes against the women of Nanking that this tragedy is most notorious. The Japanese troops raped over 20,000 women, most of whom were murdered thereafter so they could never bear witness.

Holodomor (Ukrainian Genocide)

In 1932-33, Joseph Stalin, leader of the Soviet Union, imposed the system of land management known as collectivization. This resulted in the seizure of all privately owned farmland and livestock. By 1932, much of the wheat crop was dumped on the foreign market to generate cash to aid Stalin's Five-Year Plan. The law demanded that no grain could be given to feed the peasants until a quota was met. By the spring of 1933, an estimated 25,000 people died every day in Ukraine. Deprived of the food they had grown with their own hands, an estimated 7,000,000 persons perished due to the resulting genocide.

The Armenian Genocide

The Armenian Genocide was carried out by the "Young Turk" government of the Ottoman Empire from 1915 to 1918. Starting in April 1915, Armenians in the Ottoman armies, serving separately in unarmed labor battalions, were removed and murdered. Of the remaining population, the adult and teenage males were separated from the deportation caravans and killed under the direction of Young Turk functionaries. Women and children were driven for months over mountains and desert, often raped, tortured, and mutilated. Deprived of food and water, they fell by the hundreds of thousands along the routes to the desert. Ultimately, more than half the Armenian population (1,500,000 people) was annihilated.

The Herero Genocide

The Herero Genocide occurred between 1904-1907 in current day Namibia. The Hereros were herdsmen who migrated to the region in the 17th and 18th centuries. After a German presence was established in the region in the 1800s, the Herero territory was annexed (in 1885) as a part of German South West Africa.

A series of uprisings against German colonialists, from 1904–1907, led to the extermination of approximately four-fifths of the Herero population. After Herero soldiers attacked German farmers, German troops implemented a policy to eliminate all Hereros from the region, including women and children.

Genocide of the Native Americans

The genocide of peoples indigenous to the U.S. portion of North America proceeded along different tracks, each defined by the policies of the colonial power pursuing it. The colonization began in 1607 when England's Jamestown colonists arrived in present-day Virginia with instructions to "settle" the already heavily populated coastal area. Beginning in 1830, the U.S. undertook a policy of "removing" all native people from the area east of the Mississippi River. In the series of interments and thousand-mile forced marches which followed, entire peoples were decimated. The Cherokees, for instance, suffered 50 percent fatalities during the "Trail of Tears"; the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Seminoles and Creeks, 25 to 35 percent apiece.

The Transatlantic Slave Trade

Unlike most twentieth-century cases of premeditated mass killing, the African slave trade was not undertaken by a single political force or military entity during the course of a few months or years. The transatlantic slave trade lasted for 400 years, from the 1450s to the 1860s, as a series of exchanges of captives reaching from the interior of sub-Saharan Africa to final purchasers in the Americas. It has been estimated that in the Atlantic slave trade, up to 12 million Africans were loaded and transported across the ocean under dreadful conditions. About 2 million victims died on the Atlantic voyage (the dreaded "Middle Passage") and in the first year in the Americas.

Studying Genocide is Extremely Important

Genocide is a structural and systematic destruction of innocent people by a state bureaucratic apparatus or a similar or equivalent structure. Genocide represents a systematic effort over time to liquidate a national population, usually a minority and functions as a fundamental policy to assure conformity and participation of citizenry. The institute exists to learn in depth about Genocide in details and how individuals can recognise patterns and frame policies to prevent genocide.



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